631 is highly variable, ranging from complete subjection to quasi-independence.

● 565 [563] The imperial clan, or, if one prefers, the dominant clan, most often prevails over people of races other than that of its own members; frequently this clan itself includes, at least originally, diverse ethnic elements. [158]

If such heterogeneous associates are to live side by side without clashing, they must have a large body of common customs, and this indeed is the case. Wherever one studies it, the native milieu resembles a compartmented area whose individual sections seem, at first glance, to be isolated. At the top of the social structure there is a kind of nobility composed of the head of the clan, his family, and then the families of the clan; next come the free men, simply free or members of castes; and finally the slaves. In actual fact, a continual reciprocal movement between these elements welds all of them together.

614 596 The fact is that the whole social body exists only through the severity of the life of the cells that compose it: the families. Among other characteristics, these families are very jealous of their respective independence; nevertheless, they are closely allied among themselves even as they freely absorb the foreign element constituted by the slaves.

It is, therefore, essential to concentrate our attention on the family cell in order to understand the essential element of native social life. This is all the more true in that all the native collectivities are, so to speak, modeled on the organization of the family.

The Bambara language has no word exactly equivalent to our word "family" in the legal sense (1). Different names

1. This is why we prefer the term "community," but in view of the remarks made here, the use of the word "family" will not be ambiguous.

are used to designate the collectivity under the authority of the

592 this well-built structure in the midst of the inextricable maze
[712] of surrounding huts which were themselves surrounded by a solid wall of native masonry.

[565] The people of a single household are classed in three categories: free men (woro-u), members of castes (nya-maka-la), and slaves (dyon'-u).

596 The freemen. Within the family, free persons are:
561 the men (tye-u), i.e., circumcised males; the moso-u, ex-
601 cised women; the den'-u, children of both sexes.

In accordance with their influence (faya) in the family, the men are called koro-u, old men, elders, or kamalen'-u, young masters. Among the old men the bina (uncles), brothers of the fa, hold the preponderant position; they form a kind of limited family council and generally work for the welfare of the community under the direction of the fa.

Among the women the following distinctions are made: the mothers, i.e., women under the control of a husband and who are actually mothers of children, ba-u; old women, moso-koro-u; grandmothers, mama-u; and finally unmarried girls, moso-de-u.

All children are called de unless they are specifically identified as de-n-ke, "boy," or de-moso or deni, "girl."

601 Furthermore, every male with any influence (faya) in the family, no matter to what extent, is called fa (1): [162]

1. In one way or another, therefore, every male is fa, since he exercises or will one day exercise faya. The word fa is jokingly applied even to very young boys just as ba is applied to little girls. These words may be used just like our familiar expressions when we say "Father X" or "Mother X" with no reference intended to any real state of fatherhood or motherhood.

In any case, the words fa and ba are also used as terms of respect, just as we

608 [59] No one may oppose the Fama's will, except his sénanku
643 who has the power to stay the chief's decisions, particularly in case of acts dictated by anger: murders, wars, etc.

643 The Fama's resources came from the work of his familiars,
651 from a levy on wild foodstuffs, half of the war booty, all otherwise
652 unowned goods, from certain precious substances, such as gold and ivory, from taking part of every animal killed in the hunt and the skins of all wild animals brought down, all receipts for the right to hold markets, for grazing, and for changing pastures, tolls for river crossings, fines, and from the sale of prisoners of the law. On the other hand, he had to meet the following expenses: to feed and clothe the members of the community in the case of need;to maintain the warriors (give them a groom, a wife, a rifle, a horse); bestow favors on people of caste, feed them, clothe them, arrange for their marriages if need be; make offerings to charity; receive strangers; feed prisoners detained for judgment or otherwise held.

643 The Fama ordered all work of common interest: construction
653 and maintenance of fortifications, clearing trails, preservation of springs, construction and upkeep of the mosque if one was needed, making pirogues for common use, setting up rest platforms.

These works were carried out through payments in labor. The work was divided up among the villages by the Fama, and the village chiefs in turn assigned it to family heads. He who did not carry it out in person could have it done by members of his family; he who refused could be obliged to comply by force.

642 Bambara society rarely achieved a systematic and centralized form of organization analogous to our European kingdoms. What has been dignified with the name of "empire" was scarcely more than an organization which reflected the attraction exercised by a family, by reason of its prestige or its power, on groupings which accepted its suzerainty. As Monteil has shown very well, a family's effort at domination has always been directed at groupings of people and not at territorial expansion.

642 The whole of these groupings constitutes the Ton. This in-
565 cludes:

1. a chief, the ton-tigi;
2. the local chiefs, fa;

642
565 3. the free men;

4. people of caste, such as blacksmiths, etc. (see below);

5. slaves.

567 e. Slavery. -- A man became a slave in three ways: by violence, by obligation, or by birth.

567 1. By violence. If a war captive is important, he may be
727 killed or he may be held for ransom and treated with consideration.
554 A Fama captured in war could become an army chief or dignitary in the country of his captor and could found a family there. In no case could he be reduced to captivity on his own territory.

[60] If the vanquished is a man of caste, he is spared captivity and generally enters the service of the conquering Fama;
[608] if he is a sënanku of the victor, the latter gets rid of him by freeing him. Finally, if the captive has the same name as the victorious
[561] Fama, he is freed, because he is recognized as being a relative of the Fama.

When the captive is a free man of humble origin, he is sold by the Fama, unless the Fama gives him to his warriors.

567 2. By obligation. A free individual became a slave in
681 punishment for his crimes or misdemeanors; he was then sold for the
426 profit of the Fama. A fa could sell one of his children to meet his
858 debts, but he subsequently had to try to buy him back once he was freed of his obligations.

567 3. By birth. A woman slave bears only slaves. The slave born in the house is called a wolo-so. If a woman slave is got with child by a free man, she becomes free, as does her child. But if the mother is repudiated, she reverts to slavery, while the child remains free.

567 As the number of slaves grew, their organization became
644 complicated and hierarchic. The slaves under the Fama of Sëgou were divided into series, each having as chief the eldest of the slaves. The eldest of these chiefs became chief of the dyon-kuru or dyon-futu (ensemble of slaves). Monteil shows the important role this slave chief has played in the history of Sëgou. In fact, he was the spokesman for all the grievances of the slaves and often became the Fama's adviser. At the death of the Fama, the slave chief confirmed the power of his successor by assuring him or refusing him, the submission of all the slaves.

241 After the men have cleared the big weeds, the women come
462 along to finish up. At harvest time, the women and children chase
[411] the birds from the fields with loud cries, sling shots, and by heating
[401] bamboo on a hard rock to cause a detonation. All chase the sparrows, partridges, guinea-fowls ... Harvesting is done together ...

In addition, by the side of the men's fields there are little women's fields where the women cultivate sorrel, okra, eggplant, tomatoes, beans, and all the condiments. The accessory crops of the women are the raro, bananas, manioc, sometimes rice or peanuts (1).

1. Labouret, Paysans noirs [Black Peasants].

241 Naturally, the work varies according to the social order. The
565 Bambara divide themselves into free men, people of caste, and,
567 formerly, slaves, all having a chief at their head. All members of the community must work the land; in fact, the poor work more than the slaves. The more fortunate do little work; they formerly directed and controlled the work of the slaves, today that of the agricultural workers.

C. Legal Procedure: Inheritance, Land Ownership

692 In Bambara country today, as in all of French West Africa, justice is dispensed by two tribunals: that presided over by a justice of the peace for important affairs, and that presided over by the administrator for other cases. The justice of the peace renders justice following the French code; the administrator according to local custom. A chamber of the Court of Appeals of Dakar is represented at Bamako, whose jurisdiction includes the Sudan and Niger territories. The Assize Court holds a session at Bamako, which also possesses an inferior court. Justices of the peace of wide jurisdiction are found at Kayes, Gao, Mopti, Ségou, Sikasso, Bougouni; other justices of the peace with wide jurisdiction have been created and will soon take up their functions.

One easily imagines the conflicts of principles and method which may arise between the two sorts of tribunals have just indicated.